

SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS

104th Congress
1st Session

Vote No. 414

September 13, 1995, 9:45 a.m.
Page S-13484 Temp. Record

WELFARE REFORM BILL/No 5-Year Limit If No Jobs-Child Care Programs

SUBJECT: Family Self-Sufficiency Act of 1995 . . . H.R. 4. Moseley-Braun amendment No. 2472 to the Dole modified perfecting amendment No. 2280 to the committee substitute amendment.

ACTION: AMENDMENT REJECTED, 40-60

SYNOPSIS: As reported with a committee substitute amendment, H.R. 4, the Family Self-Sufficiency Act of 1995 will overhaul six of the Nation's ten largest welfare programs.

The Dole modified perfecting amendment would strike the provisions of the committee substitute amendment and insert in lieu thereof substitute provisions, entitled "The Work Opportunity Act of 1995."

The Moseley-Braun amendment would forbid the application of the 5-year, lifetime limit on a family receiving benefits from programs paid for by family assistance block grants if the State had failed to provide the adult(s) in the family with the work experience, assistance in finding employment, and other work preparation activities and support services that it outlined in its State plan (the Dole amendment would require the submission of a State plan with this information by any State that wished to receive funding under this Act). (Family assistance block grants would be created by the Dole amendment; they would replace all current Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) programs (AFDC Cash Assistance; AFDC Administration; Emergency Assistance; JOBS Program; IV-A Child Care; Transitional Child Care; and At-Risk Child Care); the Dole amendment would provide States block grant funding for the next 5 years at these programs' FY 1994 funding level.)

Those opposing the amendment contended:

The Moseley-Braun amendment is a back-door attempt to keep welfare as an endless entitlement. First, under this amendment, anyone could remain on welfare if a State did not provide job training and job assistance. This bill does not require such assistance. A State that was not interested in ending the entitlement status of welfare could assert for any welfare recipient that appropriate training had not been provided. Second, if a State were desirous of moving people from welfare to work, and if it tried to cut someone

(See other side)

YEAS (40)		NAYS (60)			NOT VOTING (0)	
Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (40 or 87%)	Republicans (54 or 100%)	Democrats (6 or 13%)		Republicans (0)	Democrats (0)
Akaka	Inouye	Abraham	Hutchison	Baucus		
Bingaman	Johnston	Ashcroft	Inhofe	Biden		
Boxer	Kennedy	Bennett	Jeffords	Byrd		
Bradley	Kerrey	Bond	Kassebaum	Kohl		
Breaux	Kerry	Brown	Kempthorne	Nunn		
Bryan	Lautenberg	Burns	Kyl	Reid		
Bumpers	Leahy	Campbell	Lott			
Conrad	Levin	Chafee	Lugar			
Daschle	Lieberman	Coats	Mack			
Dodd	Mikulski	Cochran	McCain			
Dorgan	Moseley-Braun	Cohen	McConnell			
Exon	Moynihan	Coverdell	Murkowski			
Feingold	Murray	Craig	Nickles			
Feinstein	Pell	D'Amato	Packwood			
Ford	Pryor	DeWine	Pressler			
Glenn	Robb	Dole	Roth			
Graham	Rockefeller	Domenici	Santorum			
Harkin	Sarbanes	Faircloth	Shelby			
Heflin	Simon	Frist	Simpson			
Hollings	Wellstone	Gorton	Smith			
		Gramm	Snowe			
		Grams	Specter			
		Grassley	Stevens			
		Gregg	Thomas			
		Hatch	Thompson			
		Hatfield	Thurmond			
		Helms	Warner			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

off of welfare after providing voluminous assistance, or if it even offered a job to that welfare recipient, that recipient could take the State to court and assert that appropriate assistance had not been provided or that more assistance was needed before work could be demanded. In other words, the Moseley-Braun amendment would create a new entitlement for job training and job search assistance that would result in numerous lawsuits and loopholes that would be eagerly exploited by welfare recipients who did not want to work. The history of entitlement spending proves that when the door is left open to endless benefits the stream of people who will squeeze through that door will increase tremendously every year. From 1947 to 1995, the total amount spent on AFDC has grown steadily and exponentially from \$106 million to \$18 billion. In constant dollars, that change is a growth rate of 2,500 percent. Welfare was never intended to be a way of life, but that is what it has become. A bright line needs to be drawn. Welfare recipients who are able to work must know that they cannot take a free ride for more than 2 years at a stretch, or for more than 5 years over a lifetime. Excuses cannot be tolerated, or we will soon find everyone will qualify under the excuses. We agree with our colleagues that job search activities especially are important, but we are not about to mandate them because such a mandate, or entitlement, would be used to undermine the program. States know what they must do; all they need is the discretion to get the job done without any new entitlement requirements from the Federal Government. If our colleagues really wish to reform welfare, then they must defeat this amendment.

Those favoring the amendment contended:

The Moseley-Braun amendment follows a simple logical path. First, each State that receives family assistance grants under this Act is going to be required to state how it intends to provide job training and job search assistance to current welfare recipients. Second, States that fail to have a certain percentage of their welfare recipients working by certain dates will be penalized. Third, the most effective way yet found to get welfare recipients working is through jobs programs. Fourth, such programs are expensive. Fifth, the Congressional Budget Office estimates that the probable expense of such programs will result in most States opting to take the penalties instead of trying to find jobs for welfare recipients. Sixth, this bill has time limits on the amount of assistance one individual will be able to receive. Putting all these facts together, it is likely that this bill will result in a substantial number of welfare recipients who do not have jobs reaching their limits for receiving welfare and being kicked off of it. We do not consider such a result to be reform. We have therefore proposed the Moseley-Braun amendment, which would forbid removing anyone from the welfare rolls who had not first been given appropriate job training and job search assistance. This amendment would make sure that States took care of their poor people instead of just waiting for the day that they would be allowed to kick them off welfare. This very reasonable amendment merits our strong support.